



All climate stories worth telling. Salience and positionality at the intersection of news values and frames

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ABSTRACT

The world is too complex for humans to grasp. Frames and news values (or ‘journalistic selection procedures’) make it more intelligible, foregrounding salient elements. Giving shape to reality, both concepts cannot be separated from ideological interests, either. Previous research suggests, accordingly, that frames and newsworthiness take shape in mutual interaction. Yet, the exact nature of this interaction remains unclear as in-depth discursive research is lacking. Therefore, we have conducted a combined framing-news value analysis, drawing on a corpus of climate articles published in three mainstream and two alternative media outlets in Northern Belgium. This article discusses the relations among four selected news values and the ideologically coloured subframes of the Cycles of Nature and Environmental Justice frames. The presented schemata and exemplary analyses demonstrate the strong overlap between the salience-enhancing devices of subframes and news values. Also, they make tangible the ideological argumentations at the intersection of newsworthiness and framing, explicating the diverging realizations of news values in the context of various subframes. As such, this study lays bare some of the journalistic conventions which are often used in climate reporting to naturalize certain worldviews. Moreover, it contributes to the development of the Discursive News Values Analysis framework proposed by (Bednarek and Caple (2017). *The Discourse of News Values. How News Organizations Create Newsworthiness*. New York, NY: Oxford UP).

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1. Introduction

The world is too complex for humans to grasp and, for that matter, for media to report on. Frames help us to distil ‘events’ by foregrounding certain issues, actors or interactions, backgrounding others and providing structure and context (Van Gorp, 2006). As Entman (1991, p.9) puts it, “[t]he essence of framing is sizing – magnifying or shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make them more or less salient”. Media workers are (made) aware of many events. However, to make it into the news, events must appear to have a certain value for the audience (Hall, 1973). News values help to select and construct (the most) salient participants, attributes, actions, implications and/or contexts. As such, they also structure the reported ‘reality’ in certain ways (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). Thus, framing and news values have salience in common.

Clearly, framing and newsworthiness must be understood from a social constructivist perspective. The construction of ‘reality’ is always entangled with ideological interests (Bednarek and Caple,

2017). Hall (1973) argues that news values function, on one level, as (‘neutral’) routines of newsmakers. On another, however, they reproduce ideological values. After all, questions like ‘what is negative or prominent’ assume consensus knowledge – the character of which may differ depending on the (production/reception) context (Dahl and Fløttum, 2017). Similarly, Moernaut (2018) distinguished between levels of framing. While frames are, in theory, ‘neutral’ structures, their argumentations are, in practice, always operationalized in ideological contexts (Van Gorp, 2006). For instance, ‘leading heroes’ may have another character depending on the ‘ideologically coloured subframe’. Besides, framing and newsworthiness have also been described (Bednarek and Caple, 2012; Dahl, 2015) from the background of ‘Appraisal Theory’ (see Section 2.2 News Values). In short, news values and (sub)frames are constructed by, and may construct, various ideological ‘positionalities’ (Pulido and Peña, 1998). The argumentative structure of frames (Entman, 1991), in particular, allows to make these positionalities more tangible.

Unsurprisingly, frames and news values have been shown to have a special relationship. Boesman et al. (2017) contend that news values (e.g. Negativity) can pave the way for (e.g. alarmist) frames. Elaborating on this, however, Moernaut (2018) found that

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news values, as such, cannot explain the presence of (sub)frames. The frame-building study showed that the same news values co-occur with different types of (sub)frames. The character of these news values differed depending on the context of the (sub)frame, though. The author concluded that subframes and news values take shape in mutual interaction: the content of the news values we construct/attend to, is delineated by the (sub)frames we have access to; when trying to 'sell' certain subframes, we often construct their argumentations within the lines of news values. Thus, each concept/method allows for a more profound comprehension of the other, either furthering our understanding of salience (news values) or making ideological positionalities more tangible (subframes).

Being situated in the tradition of communication and journalism studies, however, the existing research lacks discursive analyses of texts. Yet, such systematic analyses may provide important insights, laying bare the exact nature of the mutually constitutive interactions of news values and frames (Bednarek and Caple, 2017).

Therefore, our study will combine a multimodal discursive news value analysis (DNVA) (Bednarek and Caple, 2017) with a qualitative framing analysis of climate change articles ($n = 256$). The corpus was harvested during the period 28 February 2012 to 28 February 2014 in three mainstream and two alternative news outlets in Flanders (Northern Belgium). The climate issue has been the topic of extensive framing and news value research before (e.g. Dahl and Fløttum, 2017; Molek-Kozakowska, 2018; O'Neill, 2013): While climate change constitutes *the* threat of the 21st century, it also presents a challenging topic for journalists (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007). Throughout this article we intend to answer the following research questions: How exactly do the discursive (salience-enhancing) devices of news values and frames mutually interact, and inform each other? What varying (ideological) realizations of news values can we identify by focusing on the intersection of subframes and newsworthiness?

2. Literature review

2.1. Frames

Frames are immanent structuring ideas which give coherence and meaning to texts. Framing is applying a frame to organize an area of life: It involves selecting, omitting, expanding and giving salience to certain aspects of a perceived reality, providing context and an argumentative structure. It facilitates, among others, the processing of new information by evoking (mental) structures (Entman, 1991; Van Gorp, 2006). Frames encompass a central organizing idea (e.g. 'Human Rights'), explicit/implicit reasoning devices which support this (the argumentative structure: a problem definition, causal responsibility, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation) (Entman, 1991) and manifest framing devices (e.g. depictions of participants and (inter)actions). Frames help to naturalize ideologies. Drawing on Carvalho (2007, p.225), we define ideology as:

A system of values, norms and political preferences, linked to a program of action vis-a-vis a given social and political order. People relate to each other and to the world on the basis of value judgments, ideas about how things should be, and preferred forms of governance of the world.

The referents of ideology may further also include the economy or human-nature relations. One ideology never equals one frame, or vice versa (Van Gorp, 2006). We distinguish between three framing levels (Moernaut, 2018):

- Masterframes are structured collectives of arguments, ideas, language and images about how the world is and should be. Masterframes reflect values of a particular ideology within their structure, but are more dynamic than ideologies (e.g. they may mutually influence each other).
- Frames structure particular topics of concern, like economics or justice. They constitute a rather stable group, which may reappear across various debates (e.g. climate change, migration).
- Ideologically coloured subframes are shaped by the available masterframes. Masterframes only become 'visible' within the context of particular frames.

2.1.1. Climate change frames

Many framing studies deal with climate change (e.g. Molek-Kozakowska, 2018; Nisbet, 2009; O'Neill, 2013). Although they provide interesting insights, we maintain that many of the presented frames – like 'Uncertainty' or 'Risk' – do not meet the framing definition of Entman (1991) and Van Gorp (2006): they are not generalizable, lack (clear) organizing ideas, framing or reasoning devices and/or do not lay bare underlying ideological interests (Moernaut, 2018).

Hence, we have attempted to contribute to a more comprehensive, 'universal' frame set (Moernaut, 2018), which encompasses five climate change frames, six Anthropocentric Subframes and four Biocentric Subframes (Fig. 1; Appendix A). The organizing idea of the Anthropocentric Subframes, and thus the Anthropocentric Masterframe, is this: Humans are the main victims of the current changes, as their environment and/or natural services are threatened due to – largely – external pressures. Except for the status-quo subframes 'Rights of the Free Market' and 'Nature is a Machine', the hegemonic subframes envision 'reform' within the contours of the capitalist society. The biocentric view underlying 'Natural Web', 'Unequal Attribution' and 'Civil Rights', however, denounces the capitalist system as the roots of various socio-environmental problems. Accordingly, alternatives based on values like harmony, diversity or human moderation are provided (Verhagen, 2008). 'Gaia' diverges from the other Biocentric Subframes in that it does not encourage climate action. In Moernaut (2018, pp. 242–245), we explicate how each (sub)frame is related to the frames in the literature, drawing on visualized continuums.

2.2. News values

News values help journalists to select certain events and construct them as 'newsworthy', or 'salient'. That is, they allow to predict what will be 'sellable' to intended audiences, and superiors (Shoemaker and Reese, 2014). Galtung and Ruge (1965) is considered as *the* landmark study on newsworthiness. Their 'news factors' – among others Frequency, Consonance, Elite (nation)s and Negativity – have recently been updated by Harcup and O'Neill (2017). The latter added values like Entertainment, Exclusivity and Shareability. We will, however, adopt the news values distinguished by Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017), who critically assessed a large number of studies: Aesthetic Appeal (only visuals), Consonance ((stereo)typicality), Impact (having significant effects/consequences), Personalization (having a personal/human face), Prominence (of high status, important), (geographical/cultural) Proximity, Superlativeness (of high intensity/large scope), Timeliness (recent, ongoing, about to happen, new, current, seasonal), Unexpectedness (unexpected), Valence (negative/positive).¹

¹ We will use 'Prominence' (Bednarek and Caple, 2012, 2014; Shoemaker and Reese, 2014) rather than 'Eliteness' (Bednarek and Caple, 2017) as the former allows for broader (non-hegemonic) interpretations of importance/leadership. Also, we will substitute 'Dissonance' for 'Unexpectedness' (see Section 3).

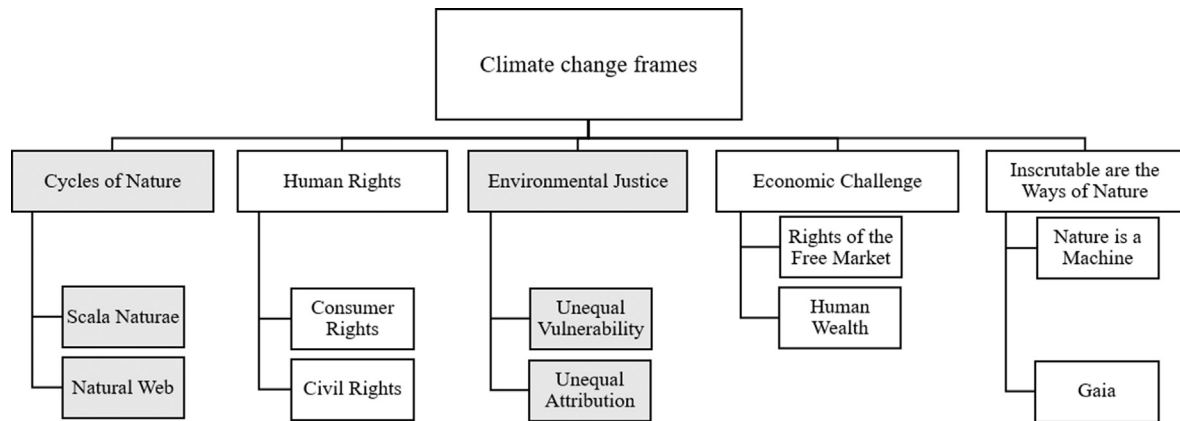


Fig. 1. Overview of the frames and subframes identified in Moernaut (2018). The (sub)frames which this study focuses on are highlighted in grey.

News values have four interacting dimensions: material (an event's potential news values in a given community), cognitive (news workers/audiences' beliefs), social (journalistic routines) and discursive (the ways in which news values are communicated through discourse) (Bednarek and Caple, 2017; Bell, 1991; Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2017). The latter dimension, in particular, has been largely overlooked. Most previous work draws on content analyses, which do not allow to evaluate how exactly news values are entextualized. Therefore, Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014, 2017) have proposed a multimodal DNVA framework. This encompasses verbal-visual discursive strategies which help to operationalize each of the news values (Appendix B).

This framework might, as the authors argue, constitute an additional tool for critical discourse analyses (CDA) or, for that matter, framing analyses. After all, sets of news values are not only ideological constructs as such but are also mutually constitutive with ideological worldviews (Bednarek and Caple, 2014, 2017; Bell, 1991; Hall, 1973). Drawing on Appraisal Theory, Bednarek and Caple (2012) argue that particular discursive news value strategies like evaluative vocabulary, express, and encourage the audience to adopt a certain value position, or – as Pulido and Peña (1998) phrase it – 'positionality'. Managing or constructing interpersonal relations, this interacts with the (ideological) viewpoints of communicators and/or audiences. While Dahl (2015) describes appraisal mechanisms in the context of framing, Moernaut (2018) considers positionality as core point of difference between ideological subframes.

2.2.1. News values and climate change

News values have been discussed before in the context of climate and environmental reporting. However, the majority of these studies do not take a discursive approach or only refer to the construction of newsworthiness in general terms. Boykoff and Boykoff (2007), for instance, focus on the lack of news values 'in(ternal to)' climate events. Bednarek and Caple (2012, 2014) and Dahl and Fløttum (2017), however, provide more extensive discussions of recurring visual-verbal conventions in the construction of newsworthy environmental stories, like intensified lexis (e.g. 'apocalypse'), capitals or depictions of extreme emotions highlighting Superlativeness. Also, they found that Negativity, Prominence, Impact and Superlativeness are the most prevalent news values in this context, suggesting that certain issues are often associated with certain values. Analyzing the discursive constructions of climate frames and news values in popular science journalism, Molek-Kozakowska (2018) identified the same news values as most prevalent, adding Timeliness. She concluded that the

preoccupation with newsworthiness produces coverage that fore-stalls public mobilization.

3. Materials and methods

Firstly, the corpus comprises articles from three Flemish mainstream newspapers: *De Standaard* (broadsheet, historical catholic-nationalist background) (DS), *De Morgen* (broadsheet, historical social-democratic background) (DM) and *Het Laatste Nieuws* (popular, liberal roots) (HLN). While the commercial context does no longer allow for pronounced ideological stances, ideologies may still play a role as marketing strategies (De Bens and Raeymaeckers, 2010). This may be reflected in the (strategic) application of certain discursive strategies (Moernaut, 2018). Further, articles were also collected from the online websites of the alternative outlets *DeWereldMorgen* (DWM) and *MO* Magazine* (MO) (both openly left-wing). Those demonstrate the main characteristics of progressive alternative media described by Atton (2002), diverging from mainstream media in terms of organizational context (e.g. anti-commercial), content (e.g. redefining journalistic routines, like newsworthiness) and production process (e.g. citizen-journalists). Alternative media are, for instance, more inclined to problematize broader political, economic and social contexts around the climate problem (Moernaut, 2018).

The selection was based on maximum variation sampling: The three mainstream outlets represent the various ideological viewpoints found in the Flemish media landscape. *De Standaard* and *De Morgen* are the most widely circulated broadsheet dailies. *Het Laatste Nieuws* is the most widely read (popular) newspaper among all strata of the population. *DeWereldMorgen* is the major, *MO** the second alternative outlet in Flanders (Centrum voor Informatie over de Media [CIM.be], 2016; *DeWereldMorgen.be*; *mo.be*).

Employing the search tools of the Belgian press archive Gopress and/or the archives of the individual outlets, we conducted key word searches ('climate change', 'global warming', 'greenhouse effect'). Additionally, we carried out a manual search in the paper archives of the national and university libraries. The searches yielded a total of 1256 articles for the period February 28, 2012 to February 28, 2014. A two year period allows for a sample that is large enough to reflect the diversity of its parent population.

A qualitative framing analysis (inspired by Grounded Theory) of the whole corpus was carried out in the context of earlier studies: First, 28 percent of the articles were analyzed inductively, informed by insights from the existing literature. This gave rise to eighteen frame matrices. These facilitated subsequent deductive analyses (Van Gorp, 2006). Extensive discussions of the research

design (and results) can be found in [Appendix C](#) and [Moernaut \(2018\)](#).

Based on quota sampling, we selected 256 articles (about 20 percent of the corpus, containing a proportional number of all subframes). This sample allowed for in-depth qualitative analyses of the news values. The analyses only embraced the heading and lead of articles (verbal part) and, if available, the visual(s) and caption(s) (visual part). These are crucial parts for the identification of (the most salient) frames and news values ([Bell, 1991](#); [Dahl, 2015](#); [Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006](#); [Molek-Kozakowska, 2018](#)). [Entman \(1991\)](#) points out that readers are only likely to discern the most salient frame in an article. [Bednarek and Caple \(2012, 2017\)](#) demonstrate that news values detected in the salient parts are usually identical to those in the remainder of articles. The DNV analyses were facilitated by the computer software package NVivo and carried out in the files which also contained our earlier framing analyses. They were largely informed by the ten news values described by [Bednarek and Caple \(2012, 2014, 2017\)](#). In the first round of analysis those served as general categories ('nodes'). In subsequent rounds, however, they were further divided into subcategories ('child nodes'). Those arose inductively, based on our analyses, and deductively, based on the subdivisions/scales suggested by [Bednarek and Caple \(2017\)](#) and insights derived from our framing study. In a final step, we questioned the data (e.g. through coding stripes in NVivo) to further lay bare the interactions among the various (framing, salience-enhancing and news value) devices in diverse (ideological) contexts.

We have slightly adapted the framework of [Bednarek and Caple \(2017\)](#), substituting 'Dissonance' for 'Unexpectedness'. As such, we want to emphasize the antithetical relation of this news value with 'Consonance'. This relation – suggested by the authors who define Unexpectedness as events “establishing contrast with the expected” (p.66) – is particularly relevant from an ideological perspective (see [Section 4.1.1](#) Consonance-Dissonance). Also, it allows to draw a clearer distinction with the narrower definition of 'Unexpectedness' by [Galtung and Ruge \(1965\)](#) (i.e. “unexpected *within the meaningful and the consonant* (...)” (p. 67; italics in original)). The broader interpretation of [Bednarek and Caple \(2017\)](#) also subsumes the ideas of unusualness/rarity. This is of secondary importance in the current discussion.

4. Results and discussions

4.1. Interacting news values and frames

[Graphs 1](#) and [2](#) demonstrate the co-occurrence of subframes and news values in the verbal text and in the visuals respectively. As the corpus is too small for broad generalizations, these quantitative overviews are only intended to illustrate recurring patterns.

Our findings partly confirm those of [Bednarek and Caple \(2012, 2014\)](#), [Dahl and Fløttum \(2017\)](#) and [Molek-Kozakowska \(2018\)](#): Prominence, Impact, Superlativeness and (verbal) Timeliness are, overall, the most prevalent values – especially in the verbal mode. Yet, our results also suggest a relatively strong presence of Aesthetic visuals and a balance among Positive and Negative Valence (rather than the prevalence of Negativity). This might be due to differences in methods, corpuses and/or underlying (sub)frames. For instance, our colleague-researchers did not look at alternative media, which are more likely to distribute Biocentric Subframes ([Moernaut, 2018](#)). As explained below, those seem to co-occur more often with Positivity.

All news values appear with all types of subframes. Only the status-quo subframes are exceptions. For instance, not one of their realizations foregrounds Personalization. That is no surprise: their argumentations highlight nature and/or elites as responsible

agents, rather than ordinary humans. Further, Consonance and Scala Naturae, Natural Web, Unequal Vulnerability and Unequal Attribution often co-occur. (Verbal) Dissonance is regularly established in the context of the Biocentric Subframes, but also in the status-quo Natural Machine Subframe. A similar pattern (in both modes) can be detected for Positivity, which is also prevalent in the Economic Challenge Frames.

Within the limited scope of this article, we are only able to provide lengthy discussions of four out of ten values. We selected Consonance, Dissonance, Prominence and Valence because they appear to be most crucial for (the understanding of) the intersection of framing, newsworthiness and ideology. They often co-occur with the selected subframes and/or have been discussed by other authors in relation to ideology ([Bednarek and Caple, 2014](#); [Dahl and Fløttum, 2017](#); [Hall, 1973](#)). Moreover, our analyses show that their devices overlap with the salience-enhancing and framing devices in our framing analysis toolkit ([Appendix C](#)): they do not only enhance salience but may also add (ideological) content. Obviously, each news value may function on various levels. However, given our research questions the ideological level will be the focus of our discussions.

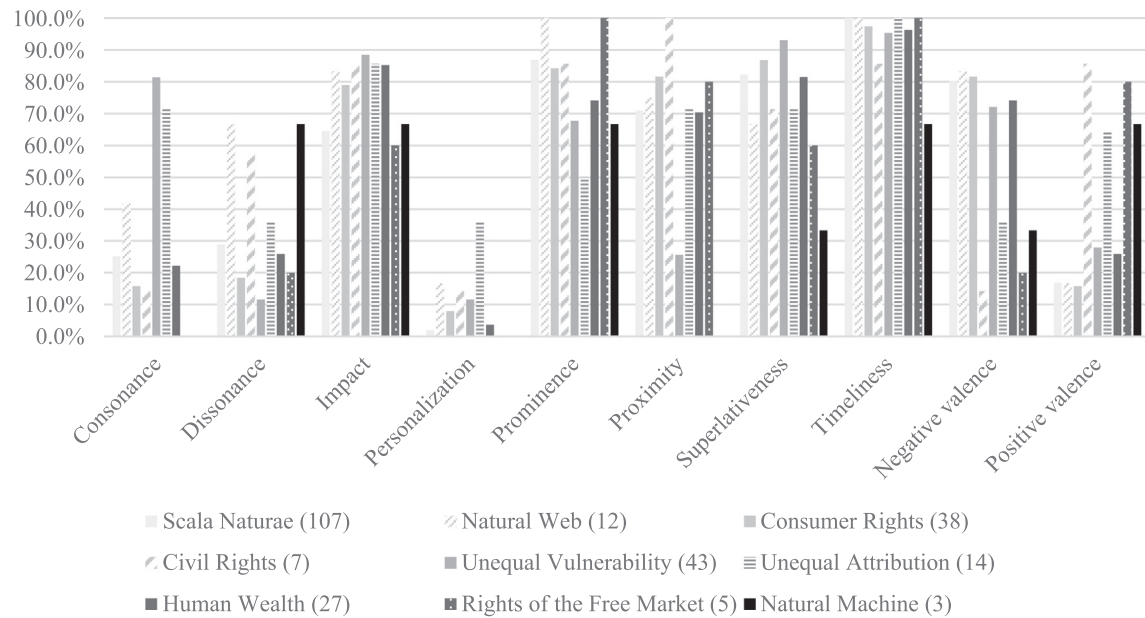
In the remainder of this article we will concentrate on the Cycles of Nature and the Environmental Justice frames and their respective subframes. Cycles of Nature is the dominant frame across the various Flemish news outlets. Environmental Justice is pivotal to the alternative outlets ([Moernaut, 2018](#)).

4.1.1. Valence

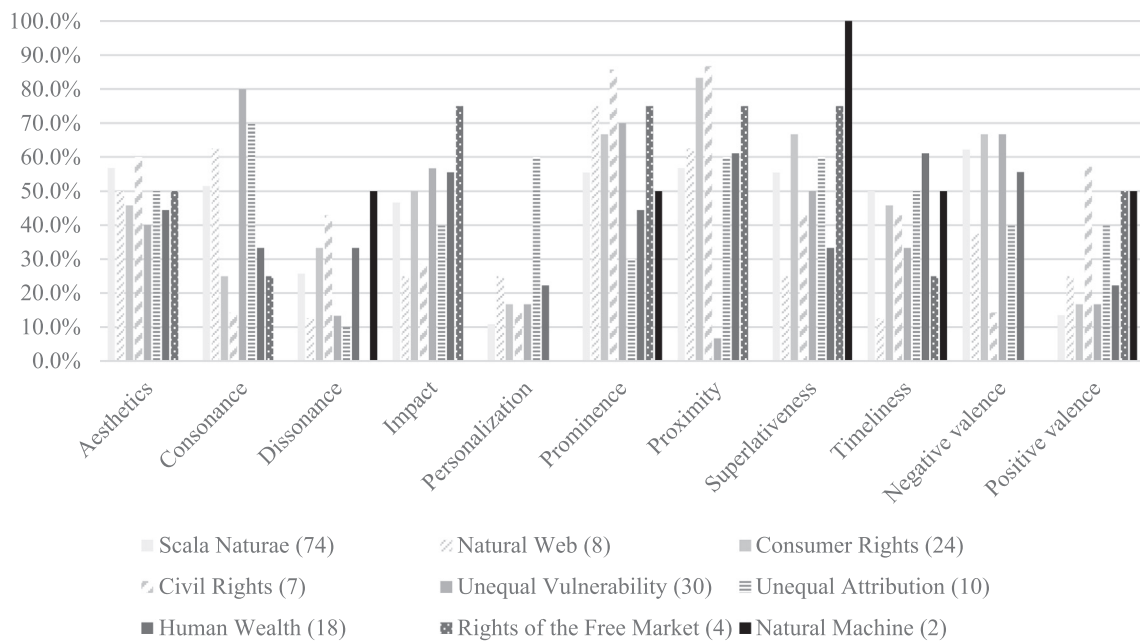
'Deconstruction-reconstruction' is an important engaging strategy in climate change framing: While unsettling truths may raise a sense of urgency through the deconstruction of trusted worldviews, those must always be balanced with reassuring alternatives ([O'Neill, 2013](#)). Unsurprisingly, Negativity and Positivity tie in with this framing strategy (see [Fig. 2](#)).

Three groups of conventions construct Negativity ([Dahl and Fløttum, 2017](#)): (1) War: War is the metaphor used to construct climate change as a society-external villain in the anthropocentric context, especially in Scala Naturae (e.g. “(...) that prospect clashes with the battle against global warming” (DS, 19/12/2012, p.37) [1]²). In the biocentric context, however, sentences like “The real enemy is human” (DWM, 01/06/2012) [2] replace the natural villain with a human villain, emphasizing the destructive consequences of our global(ized) culture. (2) 'Threat', 'drama', 'alarm', 'disaster': A sentence like “Red climate alarm in all of Europe” (DM, 24/11/2012, p.3) [3] is exemplary. It combines colour symbolism (red or dark colours may convey a sense of threat ([O'Neill, 2013](#))) with negative lexis. Scala Naturae is mainly concerned with natural 'decay', 'loss', or 'lack of' (e.g. multiple satellite images showing the melting of a glacier (DWM, 19/07/2012)). Also, the alarming increase of GHG, depicted in graphs, is often marked in red (e.g. DS, 20/06/2012, p.14). Unequal Vulnerability foregrounds 'economic crises', 'poverty' or 'loss' and human 'suffering', 'vulnerability' or 'death'. In the biocentric context, however, a sentence as “Like the typhoon, which raged through the country, a 'second wave' will hit the Philippines soon: the wave of international emergency aid” (DM, 13/11/2013, p.31) [4] employs 'flood' and 'disaster' as metaphors to highlight the destructive consequences of (patronizing) emergency aid – and thus the hegemonic view in general. (3) 'Figments', 'lies', 'myths': In the Anthropocentric Subframes individualized villains are often constructed as threat to the scientific

² Translating the original Dutch texts (see [Appendices D and E](#)), we strived for dynamic equivalence, taking into account denotations, connotations and contextual factors.



Graph 1. The co-occurrence of subframes and news values in the verbal part of the articles. The total number of articles is shown per subframe.



Graph 2. The co-occurrence of subframes and news values in the visual part of the articles. Not all articles are accompanied by visuals. The total number of visual compounds (i.e. all visual illustrations of one article) is shown per subframe.

consensus and/or hegemonic – scientific-technological – solutions (Molek-Kozakowska, 2018). “‘Merchants of doubt’ undermine the overwhelming consensus in climate science” (DM, 27/11/2013, p.30) [5], for instance, employs negative lexis. Similar devices in the Biocentric Subframes are used to deconstruct these exact solutions foregrounded by anthropocentrism. For instance, “Emission trading as magic trick” (DWM, 10/11/2013) [6]. Additionally, contrasts, comparisons and negations often reinforce Negativity (balancing it with Positivity).

Positivity is constructed by two major groups of devices: (1) ‘Collective battle’ (‘We will prevail’): The Anthropocentric Subframes foreground ‘inclusive or exclusive we’, as individualized

producers or consumers, as heroes. For instance, “The Arctic has a new fierce fighter, [tv-presenter Francesca Vanthielen]” (HLN, 16/10/2012, p.12) [7]. Conversely, Biocentric Subframes depict ‘collective we’, as society (or societal-environmental system), as heroes: “We must reconquer the future” (MO, 29/03/2013) [8]. (2) ‘Hope’, ‘help’, ‘protection’, (desirable) ‘increase/decrease’ are pivotal in the Anthropocentric Subframes and are mainly controlled by western(ized) humans, that is economic-technological developments. For instance, “American government triples use of clean energy” (MO, 06/12/2013) [9]. The Biocentric Subframes, however, highlight that salvation and protection can be found in more equal, mutually dependent and respectful human-nature

Verbal devices:

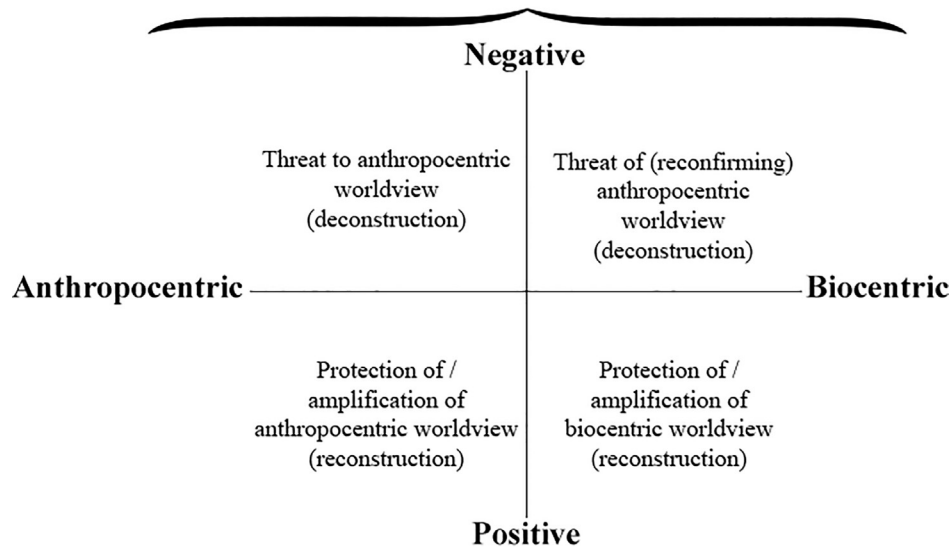
- Negative evaluative language
- Negative lexis

Visual and verbal devices:

- References to negative emotion and attitude or showing people experiencing negative emotions (*especially through intimate shots of human faces*)
- An emphasis on participants as victims and/or villains
- Descriptions or representations of behaviour, state-of-affairs, activity sequences or events which are generally considered as negative (e.g. disasters, norm-breaking)
- Lack of a manageable or clear time frame, especially in relation to negative events or threats, intensifying the latter ('Apocalypse now')
- Rhetorical devices or argumentative strategies that evoke ideas of negativity (such as metaphors, metonyms (including colour metaphors), similes, contrasts, negations, personifications, semantic reversals, presuppositions...)

Visual devices:

- Movement/blurring involving negative content, resulting in poor quality*
- Noise, underexposed images (lack of light), dramatizing and intensifying negative content*
- Focus: where extreme circumstances mean inability to provide sharp and detailed image content (e.g. water/rain on the lens)*

**Verbal devices:**

- Positive evaluative language
- Positive lexis

Visual and verbal devices:

- References to positive emotion and attitude or showing people experiencing positive emotions (*especially through intimate shots of human faces*)
- Emphasis on participants as heroes (or helpers)
- Descriptions or representations of behaviour, state-of-affairs, activity sequences or events which are generally considered as positive (e.g. success)
- Presence of a manageable, clear time frame, especially in relation to positive events or solutions, amplifying a sense of positivity
- Rhetorical devices or argumentative strategies that evoke ideas of positivity (such as metaphors, metonyms (including colour metaphors), similes, presuppositions...)

Visual devices:

- (Slightly) overexposed images, intensifying positive content*

Fig. 2. Intersection between Negative-Positive representations and Anthropocentric-Biocentric Subframes, including the (exclusively) verbal and visual devices, and the verbal-visual devices used to construct Negativity/Positivity across subframes. Based on [Bednarek and Caple \(2017\)](#) and [Moernaut \(2018\)](#).

and human-human interactions (Verhagen, 2008). For example: “Forest, fruits and fish protect vulnerable coastal areas of Bangladesh” [10].

4.1.2. Consonance-dissonance

As said, ‘deconstruction-reconstruction’ is an important engaging strategy in climate framing. Dissonance and Consonance seem to mutually interact with this strategy (see Fig. 3).

Anthropocentric Subframes. Dissonance mainly constructs contrast with societal expectations, worldviews or stereotypes. The digressions are not presented as systematic, but rather as individual ‘system faults’. Hence, the anthropocentric worldview gets – implicitly – reconfirmed as ‘natural’.

An accepted belief that is often challenged is this: We live in a safe and beautiful world, with humans in control. Nature is serving our needs. In *Scala Naturae*, however, we find phrases like “Help, the rainforest is withering” (DM, 09/11/2013, p.80) [11]. Dissonance is constructed through the juxtaposition of ‘the rainforest’, as metonym for sublime nature, and a negative verb suggesting decay. The resulting hyperbole – overgeneralizing ‘withering’ – adds to the salience-potential. Explicit references to unusualness are often added (e.g. “This year is expected to become one of the ten hottest since measurements started in 1850” (HLN, 14/11/2013, p.5) [12]).

Also, both Anthropocentric Subframes often foreground the lack of certain solutions as unexpected, confirming these as the natural way forward. This example, for instance, draws on an explicit opposition between current government actions (causal responsibility) and green growth as envisaged treatment recommendation: “Instead of welcoming the increased production of green energy, the government is now pulling the emergency brake” (DWM, 10/06/2013) [13].

The anthropocentric worldview is, however, also reconfirmed in more explicit ways, through consonant constructions. Non-human nature and ‘the South’ are often foregrounded as victims (Chouliaraki, 2006; Verhagen, 2008). Names and predications identify them as ‘(the) underdeveloped’, ‘victims’, ‘endangered’, ‘(those) suffering’... Rather than individuals, the victims are generalized groups or generic types. Natural vulnerability is suggested through stereotypical metonyms like the polar bear, contrasting awe-inspiring power and death (O’Neill, 2013). Human participants often represent traditional tribes, living in close interaction with nature (MO, 05/01/2014). Visually, they are often represented through cultural and physiognomic attributes, like stereotypical garments. The child – the western metaphor for vulnerability of ‘the others’ – is dominant too (Chouliaraki, 2006). The actions or activities in which the victims are involved, confirm the same ideas: They often act as patients, undergoing processes or – ‘expected’ – events (e.g. famines, natural disasters). For example, “The derogation of the environment renders Africa highly vulnerable” (DM, 18/06/2012, p.15) [14]. If acting as agents, they hold ‘conditional agency’ (Chouliaraki, 2006) at most; their acting does not fundamentally change, or even worsens, their situation, and/or is involuntary. For example, “Two years ago, the glacier already lost a sizable chunk of ice” (DWM, 19/07/2012) [15].

The emphasis on helpless victims often implicitly, or explicitly, evokes the stereotypical image of western(ized) humans – the in-group of the audience – as heroes. Verbal and visual devices foreground them as agents who ‘help’ or ‘show compassion’, transferring money, means and/or knowledge to natural and/or human victims (Chouliaraki, 2006). Visually, their hierarchical status is often implied by high angles. Air views and globes (DS, 10/12/2012, p. 14), for instance, position humans – as ‘pilots’/‘astronauts’/‘scientists’ – above abstract nature, rendering the latter easy to ‘develop’ (Hughes, 2012).

Finally, the Anthropocentric Subframes single out individualized (out-)groups of villains, especially corporate actors (e.g. Gazprom), or countries or political leaders (the US, China) who are expected to hamper climate action. The stereotypical metonym of the smokestack (DM, 27/12/2013, p. 4), for instance, associates the emission of GHG (symbolized by the smoke) mainly with the industrial world (O’Neill, 2013). Consonance is often explicitly highlighted. “Climate summit is again climate failure” (DS, 08/12/2012, p.36) [16], for instance, emphasizes similarities with the past.

Biocentric Subframes. More than on Dissonance, the focus of the non-hegemonic subframes appears to lie on Consonance: participants, events or issues are constructed that confirm the biocentric ideal. “Redistribution of labour and incomes must save the environment” (DM, 27/10/2012, p.27) [17], for instance, explicitly foregrounds an ideal of a socially just system.

Nevertheless, many constructions could be considered as Consonant and Dissonant, depending on the communication/reception context. A majority of the audience still holds strong mental Anthropocentric Subframes. As the interview analysis of Moernaut (2018) confirms, journalists often have this majority in mind when constructing newsworthy Biocentric Subframes. Accordingly, they use a strategy of ‘politicization’ described by Maesele and Raeijmaekers (2017): Fundamental debate – and thus, the (re)construction of another ideology as equal alternative – requires the deconstruction of the hegemonic worldview as the only rational perspective. This is considered as crucial as the anthropocentric view has proven to be destructive for the Planet and all living beings (Verhagen, 2008). We argue, thus, that a majority of the newsworthy constructions is intended to simultaneously deconstruct hegemonic perspectives – drawing the attention of the ‘mainstream audience’ through Dissonance – and construct alternatives – drawing the attention of those who have (adopted) biocentric views through Consonance.

The phrase “The green economy is a myth” (DM, 24/11/2012, p. 72) [18], for instance, presents a generally accepted biocentric view while explicitly deconstructing an anthropocentric solution as untenable. The sentence “The real enemy is human” (DWM, 01/06/2012) [2] works in similar ways, replacing the anthropocentric ‘climate villain’ with a ‘human villain’. ‘Real’ reinforces the biocentric presupposition.

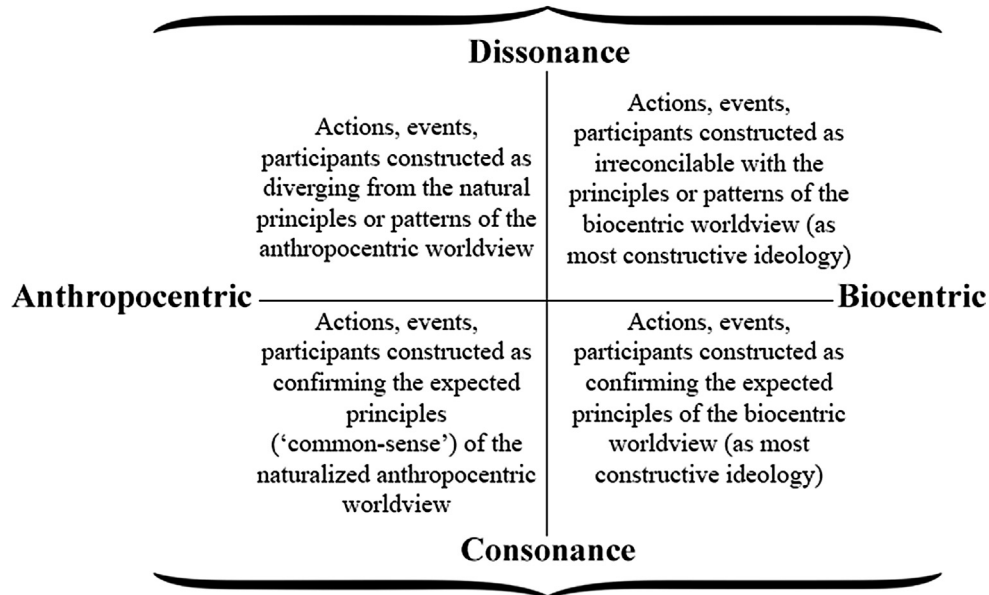
Finally, (biocentric) Consonance is also constructed through the reversal of anthropocentric stereotypes. Unequal Attribution, in particular, tends to activate associations of non-western humans living close to nature. However, such human-nature interactions are no longer (merely) presented as weakness, but mainly as strength: drawing on unique knowledge or insights, southern locals may provide valuable solutions. Being both victims as well as heroes, they are presented as not much different from any other group (Verhagen, 2008). Individualizing and/or functionalizing (i.e. focusing on what one does) names and attributes of sovereign agency (Chouliaraki, 2006) are prevalent. For instance, “Farmers in the African Sahel rediscover the traditional technique of ‘fertilizing trees’ (...)” (MO, 15/02/2013) [19]. The stereotypical child metaphor features next to the ‘mother and father metaphor’, which may evoke universal expectations regarding the caring role of parents (DM, 13/11/2013, p. 11).

4.1.3. Prominence

The Anthropocentric and Biocentric Subframes legitimate their main participants and sources as ‘Prominent’. The Anthropocentric Subframes mainly naturalize the Prominence of those at the ‘top of the anthropocentric staircase’ (elite superiors). The Biocentric Subframes focus mainly on prominent leaders (stewards/guides) within the in-group of the audience (i.e. equals/inclusive we’).

Verbal devices:***-Evaluations of unexpectedness*****Verbal and visual devices:**

- References to surprise/expectations or showing people being shocked/surprised***
- References to or depictions of unexpected happenings
- References to or depictions of actors (individuals/groups) and their attributes that do not fit stereotypes, preconceptions or expectations
- Activity sequences that are unexpected
- Rhetorical devices or argumentative strategies that indicate/highlight unexpectedness (e.g. contrast, juxtaposition, comparison, rhetorical question, metaphor, hyperbole, negation, concession, irony...)

**Verbal devices:**

- Assessments of expectedness/typicality***
- Similarity with past (e.g. 'once again')
- Explicit references to general knowledge/traditions

Verbal and visual devices:

- References to or depictions of happenings which are presented as expected or (stereo)typical (but not conforming to the news agenda/cycle or expectations of processes or types of reporting, like (the phases of) a yearly international summit)
- The representation of actors (mostly 'them') as generalized groups, often in (stereo)typical (narrative) roles, such as victims, villains, heroes or helpers
- References to or depictions of actors and their attributes that fit stereotypes or preconceptions
- Activity sequences that are typically associated with certain actors
- The presence of (culturally resonant) metaphors, metonyms, allusions, intertextual references...

Fig. 3. Intersection between Consonant-Dissonant representations and Anthropocentric-Biocentric Subframes, including the (exclusively) verbal and verbal-visual devices used to construct Con/Dissonance across subframes. The bold-italicized text highlights devices that cannot simultaneously act as framing devices (i.e. they only add salience, no content). Based on Bednarek and Caple (2017) and Moernaut (2018).

Hegemonic elites are also present but usually play a secondary role. Accordingly, the devices which construct Prominence are operationalized differently (see Fig. 4).

The Anthropocentric Subframes often repeat well-known names (e.g. 'Obama', 'Harvard') or depict these agents or institutions. Also, role labels ('president', 'expert') or status-indicating adjectives ('leading', 'prestigious') are prevalent. Similarly, visual

attributes (e.g. microphones, formal clothing) or composition (size, centrality...) as well as the depicted contexts (e.g. a conference room or laboratory) reflect hegemonic interpretations of Prominence. The agents are often described or depicted as carrying out actions which set them apart from ordinary citizens: they play a decisive (positive/negative) role in debates and decision-making (Molek-Kozakowska, 2018); they act as sources (e.g. former

Verbal devices:

-Construction of prominence through various status markers, including role labels, status-indicating adjectives, naming, descriptions of achievements/fame

Visual devices:

-Known and/or easily recognizable actors
-Props, clothing, facial expressions... suggesting a prominent role

Verbal and visual devices:

-Activity sequences which are associated with prominent societal actors (or acting)
-Contexts associated with prominent professions or roles
-Construction of prominence through suggested alignments between audience and depicted participants (e.g. type of address, distance, angle, (absence of) gaze)
-*Salient placement (e.g. in the structure of the narrative; in the centre/foreground of a visual) or exclusive/repeated presence of participants/sources*
-*Legitimation of the quotes of sources (e.g. objective/subjective viewpoints; verbal hedging, modality, quoting verbs)*

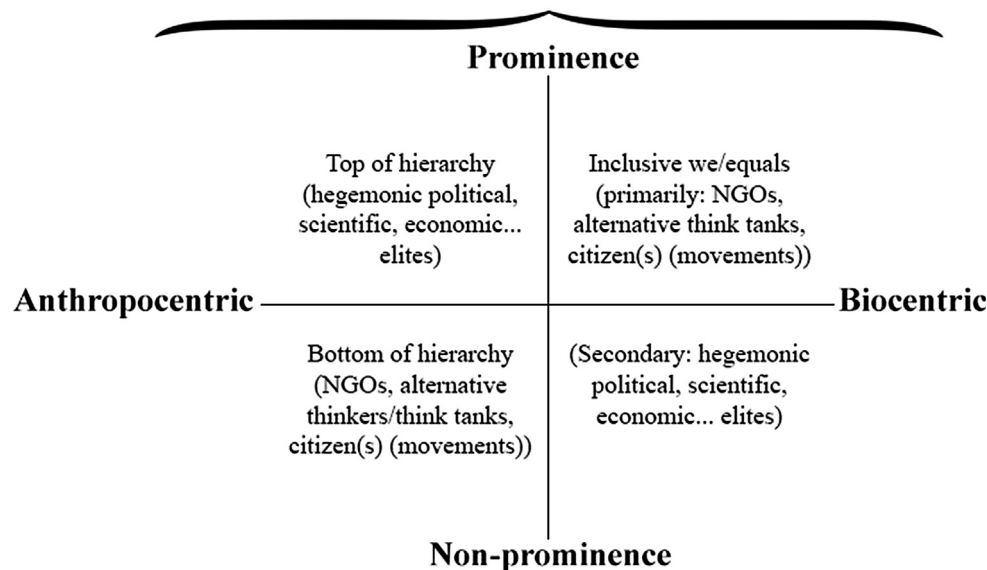


Fig. 4. Intersection between Prominent-Non-prominent representations and Anthropocentric-Biocentric Subframes, including the (exclusively) verbal and visual devices, and the verbal-visual devices used to construct Prominence across subframes. Based on Bednarek and Caple (2017) and Moernaut (2018).

chairman of the IPCC Rajendra Pachauri giving an interview (MO, 16/06/2012)); they conduct research (e.g. “Scientists from Harvard have calculated that at the current rate all records will be broken by the year 2100” (DM, 09/03/2013, p.4) [20]). Specialized terminology – often scientific terms related to GHG and/or temperature rise – and scientific graphs are prevalent. Sources, in particular, are often presented from a personal or social distance, eye-level and a head-on perspective. This may help to legitimate them (Tuchman, 1978). High angles often evoke a hierarchical perspective on nature (and non-western humans), suggesting expertise or domination (Hughes, 2012).

The Biocentric Subframes more often construct Prominence through role labels (e.g. “the alternative British economist Andrew Simms” (DM, 27/10/2012, p. 27) [21]) and descriptions of achievements or fame (e.g. “Habib Maalouf, a Lebanese writer, journalist and professor who published two books about environmental philosophy” (MO, 14/11/2013) [22]). The prominent role of such participants is probably less self-evident for – a large group of – the audience. Clearly, this requires more explicit construction

work. While some word choices, such as ‘alternative’ or ‘activist’, or the association with bottom-up organizations (e.g. ‘Andean Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations’) suggest a leading role outside the hegemonic hierarchy, the verbal construction work is similar to that in the anthropocentric context. Visually, most realizations draw on the legitimating conventions described by Tuchman (1978). Yet, the absence of traditional elite props, contexts or activity sequences and the direct gaze of the (smiling) actors may also close the gap between audience and prominent actors, suggesting equality and connection (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

4.2. Exemplary analyses

The following illustrations (see Appendix E) demonstrate how exactly news values get shape (and co-occur) in four articles, each evoking one of the discussed subframes. Also, the parallel analyses show how the news values analyses and framing analyses overlap and complement each other. The bold text highlights exclusive salience-enhancement functions.

Example 1. Best known Swiss mountain Matterhorn crumbling away

Discursive analysis	Scala Naturae Subframe	News values
The word “mighty” and the aesthetic image construct a stereotypical image of ‘pristine’ nature (Verhagen, 2008). The focus lies on the Matterhorn, which is said to have an altitude of “4478 m”/“almost 4.5 km”. Similarly, the wide-angle photograph shows the mountain ‘reaching up to the sky’. It is constructed as geographically and culturally near the Belgian target audience: heading and lead contain three references to Switzerland. Some readers may recognize the Matterhorn as an iconic natural landmark symbolizing (metonymy) one of the most beautiful natural areas in Europe. “Best known” makes this more explicit	The focus lies on singled out fauna/flora, preventing us to take into account the whole natural system, including geographically or culturally distant parts (Verhagen, 2008) The focus on an impressive European/culturally resonant metonym for natural beauty may add salience	Consonance Aesthetic Appeal Superlativeness Proximity
The negative relational (“is in danger”) and material processes (“crumbling away”, “is suffering”) (Halliday, 2000) suggest the extent of nature’s passivity and vulnerability, exacerbated by external pressures. The contrast between the sublimity of nature and the verb “crumbling away” may add drama and unexpectedness	(The most vulnerable parts of) nature as main victim Drama and unexpectedness may add salience	Negativity Impact Dissonance
Climate change is identified as “cause” (or agent) of suffering by means of a relational process (verb: “to be”), which may add to the factuality of the events (Halliday, 2000). The prepositional construction with “under” has a similar meaning	Climate change as major villain	Consonance
The role label in “a study by Swiss geologists” foregrounds a hegemonic elite source. The novelty of this study is implied	The trustworthiness of sources makes their (sub) frames more salient	Prominence Timeliness
Negative lexis and descriptions of negative events in the verbal mode and the red backdrop (colour symbolism) in the visual mode add alarmism (O’Neill, 2013). The present tense may add momentum	An overall dramatic style may heighten salience	Negativity Timeliness

Example 2: Habib Maalouf: ‘Religion and development dogma are disastrous for environment’

Discursive analysis	Natural Web Subframe	News values
“The whole human culture” (i.e. “collective we”) is foregrounded as destructive agent in lead and heading, which refers to two well-known elements of globalization: (western) “religion and the development paradigm”. Similarly, the gaze of the non-western interviewee may give rise to a sense of collectivity among various groups of people. The verbs “is disastrous” and “is responsible” (for destruction) suggest that a(n unquestioned) relation exists among culture and destructive attributes (Halliday, 2000). Intertextually, this may give rise to the – intensifying – metaphor ‘human is a predator’ (Moernaut, 2018). The explicated negative emotional state/attitude of the interviewee may add to the overall “pessimistic” representation of human culture	Human culture as major villain Familiar people, issues, contexts may add salience Drama and unexpectedness may add salience	Proximity Negativity Dissonance/ Consonance Superlativeness
The “environment” – as object in a prepositional phrase (“disastrous for”) – is constructed as patient, which is impacted in far-reaching ways. The latter is emphasized through the intensifying word choice	Nature (‘the whole natural web’) as main victim	Negativity Impact Superlativeness
Maalouf is verbally legitimized through role labels and extensive descriptions of his achievements, visually through the conventions described by Tuchman (1978) (personal distance, eye-level, head-on perspective). The gaze (and friendly smile) connect viewer and viewed, placing them – as equals – in the same reality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006)	The trustworthiness of sources makes their (sub)frames more salient	Prominence Proximity

Example 3: Poorest hardest hit by extreme weather

Discursive analysis	Unequal Vulnerability Subframe	News values
The negation of “The old adage that nature does not discriminate” implicitly confirms the ‘expected truth’ that nature affects human safety, while conveying a sense of unexpectedness and change at a more superficial level. The extreme power of the natural villain is emphasized through repetition (of the destructive natural agent in prepositional constructions) and the intensifier “extreme”.	Climate change (consequences) as main villain Cultural resonance, drama and repetition may add salience Unexpectedness may add salience	Consonance Negativity (Dissonance – Timeliness) Superlativeness
Stereotypical collocations like “Poorest hardest hit” (passive voice), “The poor suffer most” (behavioural process), “the urban poor are most vulnerable” (relational process) (Halliday, 2000) may implicitly resonate with audience expectations regarding the helplessness and suffering of the generalized out-group. The child metaphor summarizes these ideas visually, with the diagonal line emerging from the child drawing attention to his ‘poor’ domestic setting. The begging gaze of the child – situated in the forefront – may give rise to a hierarchical connection between givers (viewers) and receivers (viewed) of help (Chouliaraki, 2006). The superlatives (“hardest”, “most”) emphasize the significance of the climate-induced suffering. The audience is likely to recognize “The World Bank” as the name of a hegemonic elite source	Certain socio-economic groups (in the South) as disproportionately vulnerable Drama and cultural resonance may add salience The in-group of the audience (in the West) is called upon to provide solutions Contact and foregrounding of participants may add salience The trustworthiness of sources makes their (sub)frames more salient	Consonance Negativity Personalization (Weak Proximity) Impact Superlativeness Prominence

Example 4: There is life after Philippines Typhoon, thanks to local social movements

Discursive analysis	Unequal Attribution Subframe	News values
Quantifiers (“half a million”), intensifiers (“hideous”, “severely”), negative lexis (“destruction(s)”, “homeless”, “did not survive”, “disaster”, “hit”), depictions of the after-effects of the disaster (destroyed home, affected people, the child metaphor (Chouliaraki, 2006)) emphasize the disproportionate suffering of a certain group. This may resonate with certain audience expectations	Certain socio-economic groups are disproportionately affected by climate change Drama and cultural resonance may add salience The affected groups are resilient and know best how to help the most vulnerable among them. They can and should fruitfully interact – as equals – with the in-group of the audience Unexpectedness may add salience Cultural resonance may add salience	Superlativeness Negativity Impact Consonance Positivity Personalization Dissonance / Consonance
Simultaneously, the positive lexis (“life after”) and descriptions and depictions of positive behaviour (“organize help to local communities”, locals taking rubble away and starting reconstruction) emphasize the agency of local actors (see material processes (Halliday, 2000)). “Thanks to” explicitly emphasizes their hero role. This contrast, marked by the adverb “nevertheless”, may highlight unexpectedness for those holding anthropocentric worldviews, while implicitly confirming the expectations of those with biocentric values	The trustworthiness and/or proximity of sources/actors may add salience	Prominence Proximity
The names and role labels (“local social movements”, “Belgian structural NGOs”, “11.11.11”) foreground non-hegemonic ‘leaders’. Being introduced as “partners of” Belgian organizations, the Philippine agents are brought closer to the Belgian audience		

5. Conclusions

Our discussions have illustrated that most subframes (in the corpus) co-occur with all types of news values. Nevertheless, we have also demonstrated that news values tend to be operationalized differently depending on the ideological context of subframes. Since similar conventions are used across Anthropocentric and

Biocentric Subframes, however, the broader context (i.e. argumentations) of the subframes is usually required to fully appreciate the various worldviews which are (likely to be) evoked. That is, positionality only clearly emerges if we look at the intersection of framing and newsworthiness. The fact that some news value-(sub)frame combinations are more prevalent than others, then, is mainly due to the overlap of particular types of frame and news

value conventions, rather than to material characteristics of events (Bednarek and Caple, 2017). For instance, devices which give rise to Positive Valence are more salient characteristics of some types of subframes than of others. Accordingly, we believe that this article contributes in important ways to the existing literature.

Firstly, it provides a preliminary response to the call of Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017) to further develop their proposed DNVA framework and implement it into existing CDA toolkits. While we employ a framing approach, our toolkit is – just like the method of Bednarek and Caple – strongly influenced by neighbouring traditions like CDA, semiotics and linguistics (e.g. Halliday, 2000; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Anyhow, our discussions demonstrate how the two frameworks mutually interact, both overlapping as well as providing each other with additional devices. Some of those are exclusively catered to salience enhancement (mainly those provided by DNVA), others allow to simultaneously grasp content (mainly those provided by framing). Thus, combining the methods allows for more nuanced discussions. Future research may look for more systematic ways to do so. Newsworthiness may, for instance, be implemented into framing methods as a complementary layer of salience-enhancing devices.

However, our adherence to Bednarek and Caple (2017) might also be a weakness. It goes beyond the scope of this research to address the exact ways in which news values can/should be delineated. Hence, the choice to largely adopt the comprehensible framework of Bednarek and Caple (2017) was partly pragmatic. Yet, we admit that other approaches could have facilitated additional insights. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) and Harcup and O'Neill (2017), for instance, identify 'Conflict/Controversy' as news value, while Bednarek and Caple (2017) see this as subcategory of 'Negative Valence'. However, Conflict might constitute a pivotal news value in climate reporting (Molek-Kozakowska, 2018): Anthropocentric Subframes (scientific and political conflict as problematic) and Biocentric Subframes (broad societal conflicts or debates as solution) are likely to operationalize it in diverging ways (Moernaut, 2018), demonstrating that conflict is not necessarily negative.

Secondly, our study has identified a number of frequently used conventions in news writing. Follow-up research needs to clarify whether these are typical for climate reporting or if they can also be found in the context of other topics (Bednarek and Caple,

2017). These conventions, as such, are not necessarily problematic: They help practitioners to efficiently/effectively convey the results of their journalistic research (Shoemaker and Reese, 2014). Besides, most conventions may facilitate the reproduction of entirely different ideological argumentations. It might be problematic, though, if conventions get exclusively entangled with one type of (anthropocentric) argumentations, especially if phraseology takes precedence over (conscious evaluations of) the constructive character of the conveyed or evoked messages. Previous research suggests that this might be the case in mainstream media, which almost exclusively reproduce Anthropocentric Subframes and are largely preoccupied with newsworthiness, as goal, rather than as means (Moernaut, 2018). We agree with Molek-Kozakowska (2018) that newsworthiness in this context may forestall broad public engagement. That is, it may contribute to depoliticization (Maesele and Raeijmaekers, 2017): The fight against an 'external' villain calls for pragmatic – scientific-technological – solutions. The hierarchical worldview confirms the exclusive role of the elites as providers of these solutions, while distancing us from the victims and/or those with alternative perspectives. However, we have shown that in other (mainly alternative media) contexts, news values – as means, rather than goals – may mutually interact with biocentric argumentations. These are more likely to politicize the debate (Maesele and Raeijmaekers, 2017): Fundamental society-internal problems call for society-wide debate and action. While the thorough deconstruction of trusted worldviews may be unsettling, the emphasis on hope for a better future (i.e. reconstruction), the idea of connectivity and the message that (every)one can actually contribute may encourage engagement (Moernaut, 2018).

Summarizing, this study has demonstrated the capital gain of combining framing and newsworthiness approaches. Framing may deepen our understanding of the 'what' of news values, providing us with more tangible tools to assess what newsworthiness 'means' and what contents it helps to convey, in various contexts and throughout the communication process. In short, it allows for more profound understandings of (ideological) positionality in the approach of news values. The newsworthiness approach may deepen our understanding of the 'how' of framing, sensitizing us to the continuous struggle to create value and the various ways in which 'what is (in) the news' is constructed and legitimated. In short, it allows for a more profound understanding of 'salience' in the approach of frames.

Appendix A

Climate change frames and subframes

Cycles of Nature Frame	– Problem: Natural system as victim; human, continually interacting with nature, as secondary victim – Cause: Human acting – Solution: Humans need to change the ways in which they (inter)act with other beings/processes
• Scala Naturae Subframe	– Problem: Natural system, especially the vulnerable parts, as victim; human as secondary victim – Cause: Human-induced climate change; humans collectively disregard the services of nature; some (elites) are more guilty than others – Solution: (Elite) human intervention; nature lacks internal resilience or coping abilities
• Natural Web Subframe	– Problem: Human stewards who can/want to speak up for 'the natural web' are silenced – Cause: The anthropocentric worldview harms the resilience of the natural web in multiple ways – Solution: Only by recognizing the crucial and equal role of nature and her representatives, we may evolve towards a just and mutually dependent coexistence
Environmental Justice Frame	– Problem: Particular groups in society already/will pay the bill of climate change – Cause: The dominant group, preoccupied with their misguided priorities – Solution: Mitigation and/or adaptation

Appendix A (continued)

Climate change frames and subframes		
• Unequal Subframe	Vulnerability	– Problem: Some groups, who are internally weak, are especially vulnerable to climatic changes – Cause: Climate change as major external threat; elite groups bear the underlying responsibility: they do not sufficiently recognize the lives, economies, cultural identities or right to develop of others – Solution: To save and improve the victims, the elite groups must rectify their wrongs
• Unequal Subframe	Attribution	– Cause/problem: By enforcing 'development' upon others, western(ized) elites threaten the resilience of the 'victims', rendering them disproportionately vulnerable – Solution: If recognized by other groups as equal(ly developed), these 'victims' can help themselves and encourage the rest of the world to work (together) on a (funda)mental transformation
Human Rights Frame		
		– Problem: The rights, freedoms, well-being and ways of living of humans are at stake – Cause: Climate change; (elite) people, blinded by short-term ego-centric interests – Solution: All humans have to take action for their collective long-term fate
• Consumer Rights Subframe		– Problem: Human well-being, health and safety are vulnerable to environmental changes – Cause: Man-made climate change as immensely powerful threat; certain actors who do not use their knowledge/means for the common purpose – Solution: Politics, public services and science need to provide solutions and encourage individual consumers to change
• Civil Rights Subframe		– Cause/problem: The hegemonic system victimizes all citizens, turning us into passive consumers unable to be critical. This makes us disproportionately vulnerable to (climate) crises – Solution: We need to reclaim our collective citizenship. Drawing on biocentric alternatives, we may work together towards more meaningful and better lives for all
Economic Challenge Frame		
		– Problem: The (economic) wealth of humans is under threat – Cause: Climate change and the inappropriate responses of (mostly) elite groups – Solution: The status-quo situation must at least be guaranteed. Ideally, solutions amplify human prosperity and 'optimize' economic relations
• Rights of the Free Market Subframe		– Cause/problem: There are no limits to human development as nature is forgiving. Environmental policies and/or unfair competition hamper some stakeholders in their struggle for natural wealth – Solution: These pressures need to be lifted to allow players to prosper, drawing on technological development/ingenuity
• Human Wealth Subframe		– Problem: Economic, technological and/or cultural losses – Cause: Human-induced climate change; those (political/economic elites) who are aware of the risks and able to react, are too preoccupied with short-term gain – Solution: The responsible groups need to act and facilitate the acting of others. This is likely to stir development and prosperity
Inscrutable are the Ways of Nature Frame		
		– Cause/problem: Climate change is a natural variance: all changes are due to actors within the natural system – Solution: If needed, the natural system will mitigate the flaws. Human help is not required
• Natural Machine Subframe		– Cause/problem: The changes in humans' (natural) environment are mainly due to GHG emissions caused by particular natural mechanisms/species – Solution: The natural machine is designed so that it can regulate the changes

Overview, and brief definitions, of the identified climate change frames and (Anthropocentric/Biocentric) Subframes. The hierarchy of the frames (not the subframes) is reflective of their relative frequency in the corpus (Moernaut, 2018)

Appendix B

Discursive News Values Analysis Framework		
News Value	Verbal discursive strategies	Visual discursive strategies
Aesthetic Appeal	/	Content: The depiction of people, places, objects, landscapes culturally recognized for their beauty Capture (composition): balance (dynamic, asymmetric composition, making use of the diagonal axis; balanced, symmetrical images where the symmetry is momentarily interrupted) Capture (technical affordances): movement (blurring and freezing of action); noise (high level of graininess); focus (lengthening or reducing depth of field within the image)

(continued on next page)

Appendix B (continued)

Discursive News Values Analysis Framework		
News Value	Verbal discursive strategies	Visual discursive strategies
Consonance ([stereo]typical)	References to stereotypical attributes or preconceptions; assessments of expectedness/typicality; similarity with past; explicit references to general knowledge/traditions	Content: The depiction of people and their attributes that fit with the stereotypical imagery of a person/country etc.; staged/highly choreographed depictions of typical activities associated with a person/group/nation
Eliteness (of high status or fame)	Various high status markers, including role labels, status-indicating adjectives, recognized names, descriptions of achievement/fame, use by news actors/sources of specialized/technical terminology, high-status accent or sociolect	Content: Showing known and easily recognizable key figures; showing people in elaborate costumes, uniform, or with other regalia of officialdom; showing self-reflexive elements like microphones/cameras; showing people flanked by military, police, or bodyguards or in a media scrum; showing people using the specialist equipment associated with elite professions; showing context associated with an elite profession (e.g. lab)
Impact (having significant effects or consequences)	Assessments of significance; representation of actual or non-actual significant/relevant consequences, including abstract, material, or mental effects	Content: showing the after-effects (often negative) of events, e.g. scenes of destruction, injuries, damage to property; showing emotions caused by an event
Negativity/Positivity (negative/positive)	References to negative/positive emotion and attitude; negative/positive evaluative language; negative/positive lexis; descriptions of negative (e.g. norm-breaking) or positive behaviour/state-of-affairs	Content: Showing negative events and their effects (e.g. natural disasters); showing people experiencing negative/positive emotions; showing people being arrested or (as defendant) with lawyers/barristers/police; showing people attempting to hide their identity or showing aggression towards the camera; showing people engaging in norm-breaking behaviour (e.g. fighting); showing people engaging in positively valued behaviour (e.g. award ceremonies); showing actions associated with reconciliation or praise (e.g. hugging) Capture (technical affordances): movement/ blurring involving negative content, resulting in poor quality images; noise (dramatizing and intensifying negative content); focus (where extreme circumstances mean inability to provide sharp and detailed image content); in moving images (suggesting unstable situation, i.e. danger)
Personalization	References to 'ordinary' people, their emotions, experiences; use by news actors/sources of 'everyday' spoken language, accent, sociolect	Content: showing 'ordinary' individuals, especially when singled out and standing in for a larger group; people dressed in informal/everyday clothing; carrying items such as rucksacks, handbags, shopping bags; showing an emotional response; in the home/domestic setting; on the street Capture (composition): salience (positioning individuals in unequal relation to others in the image frame, e.g. through foregrounding or backgrounding); shot length (using a close-up shot (to focus on a person's emotion, for instance) Capture (technical affordances): focus (reducing depth of field so that the focus remains on the individual)

Appendix B (continued)

Discursive News Values Analysis Framework		
News Value	Verbal discursive strategies	Visual discursive strategies
Proximity (geographically or culturally near)	Explicit references to place or nationality near the target community; references to the nation/community via deictics, generic place references, adjectives; inclusive first personal plural pronouns; use by news actors/sources of (geographical) accent/dialect	Content: Showing wellknown or or iconic landmarks (e.g. Tower Bridge), natural features (e.g. Uluru) or cultural symbols (e.g. flags, national colours/distinctive uniforms); showing verbal text indicating relevant place/cultural connection (e.g. signage)
Superlativeness	Intensifiers; quantifiers; intensified lexis; metaphor and simile; comparison; repetition; lexis of growth; <i>only/just/alone/already</i> + time/distance or related lexis	Content: showing the large-scale repetition of participants in the image frame, e.g. not just one house but an entire street affected; showing extreme (positive or negative) emotions in participants Capture (composition): shot length (use of very wide angle to exaggerate differences in size/space; magnification (larger than life representation, through use of extreme close-up or macro lens) Capture (technical affordances): movement (camera movement and blurring, combined with camera-people moving around, running, ducking to avoid projectiles etc. (suggesting seriousness/high danger etc.))
Timeliness	Temporal references; present and present perfect; implicit references through lexis (e.g. <i>ongoing, under way</i>); references to current trends, seasonality, change/newness/discovery	Content: natural phenomena that indicate time, e.g. the season may be implied in flora or environmental conditions; inclusion of cultural artefacts, like Christmas trees that are representative of a particular time of year; showing the revealing of an item, to be seen for the first time; including verbal text indicating relevant time, e.g. signage
Unexpectedness (unexpected)	Evaluations of expectedness; references to surprise/expectations; comparisons that indicate unusuality; references to unusual happenings	Content: Showing people being shocked/surprised; showing unusual happenings that would be considered outside an established societal norm or expectation Capture (composition: salience): juxtaposition of elements in the frames that create stark contrast

Summary of the verbal-visual discursive news value strategies identified by [Bednarek and Caple \(2017, 260–271\)](#).

Appendix C

Multimodal Framing Analysis Toolkit		
Verbal		Visual
-Naming and predicational strategies -Ordering of lexical terms -Overlexicalization versus deletion	<i>(In)animate participants and attributes</i> -Presence or absence, categorization, connotation -Narrative roles (villain, hero, victim...)	-Facial expression, gesture, props, size... -(Dis)connection, symmetry/similarity, repetition -Relative size, focus
-Choice for particular verbs -Active/passive constructions, nominalizations -Foregrounding/backgrounding/deleting of agents/patients/other specificities	<i>(Inter)actions</i> -Transitivity (property of verbs), active/passive voice, abstraction	-Depictions of human beings, emotions -Vectors (e.g., gazes, arm lines) -(Lack of) gaze -Ordering of images (e.g., causality) -Composition: centre/margin, foreground/middle ground/background
-Personal pronouns -Type of address	<i>Positionality</i> -(Moral) alignment between participants inside/outside the picture frame	-Point of view -Distance -Depth of field, focus, lighting -Point of view, distance, contact, depth of field, focus, lighting -First person perspective
-Adverbs, prepositional constructions... -Event/context-centred versus subject-centred -Recognizable people, in recognizable contexts	<i>Context (time, space, causality...)</i> -Presence or absence, character	-Visual cues suggesting particular time-spaces -Distance/angle/depth of field -Emphasis on context/scene or subject -Recognizable people, in recognizable contexts
-Grammatical mood, modal auxiliaries, adjectives, adverbs -Strong modality: high commitment, confidence	<i>Modality</i> -(Degrees of) necessity, possibility, certainty, likelihood	-Articulation of detail, background, colour (e.g., saturation), depth, light and shadow, tone... -Focus, depth of field, illumination, brightness, quality, texture, colour, tone
-Juxtaposition, contrast, metaphors, metonyms, hyperbole, presupposition, personification, exemplification, ellipsis, inversion, rhetorical question, semantic reversal, stock phrases, one-liners... -Repetition, metaphor, metonym, ellipsis	<i>Rhetorical figures</i> -Add deeper layers of meaning -Foreground certain elements -Make (parts of) the frame more convincing	-Juxtaposition, contrast, metaphors, metonyms, hyperbole, presupposition, personification, exemplification, ellipsis, inversion... -Repetition, metaphor, metonym, ellipsis
-Depiction of narrator: Naming and predicational strategies -Depiction of quotes: modality and hedging, choice for particular quoting verbs -Expert/'people like us' (legitimation of source) -First person perspective -Emotion, drama, the unexpected -Placement in the structure of the news story -Duration (reduction, expansion)	<i>Narration</i> -(De)legitimization of narrators -As a rhetorical device the narrative helps to communicate the frame effectively	-Depiction of narrator: choice for particular attributes, pose, setting, distance... -Narrator as focalizer: global, objective, subjective... point of view -Expert/'people like us' (legitimation of source) -First person perspective -Aesthetic, affective or graphic quality, the unexpected
-Verbal icons, symbols, metonyms, (mythological) motifs, intertextual references... -Frame lines (structural) similarity -Cultural resonance -Repetition, placement (e.g., top versus bottom), size, incongruities in lay-out, frame lines, vectors (leading lines)... on page/outlet/inter-source level	<i>Intertextuality (direct/broader context)</i> -Key events, icons and symbols, myths... -Similar (multimodal) texts (e.g., same theme) -Interaction on a page (layout), in an outlet, on inter-source level	-Visual icons, symbols, metonyms, (mythological) motifs, intertextual references... -Frame lines, similarity -Cultural resonance -Repetition, placement (e.g., top versus bottom, centre versus margin), size, number of pictures, incongruities in layout, frame lines, vectors (leading lines)... on page/outlet/inter-source level

Multi-level, multimodal framing analysis toolkit, incorporating framing and salience-enhancing devices (in grey). This is the simplified version of the toolkit proposed by [Moernaut \(2018\)](#)

Appendix D

- [1] "(...) dat vooruitzicht vloekt met de strijd tegen de klimaatopwarming."
- [2] "De echte vijand is de mens zelf."
- [3] "Rood klimaatalarm in heel Europa."
- [4] "Net als de tyfoon over het land raasde komt er nu voor de Filipijnen een 'tweede golf' aan: die van de internationale noodhulp."
- [5] "'Handelaars in twijfel' ondergraven de overweldigende consensus in de klimaatwetenschap."
- [6] "Emissiehandel als goocheltruc."
- [7] "De Noordpool heeft er een vurige verdedigster bij."
- [8] "We moeten de toekomst heroveren."
- [9] "Amerikaanse overheid verdrievoudigt gebruik schone energie."
- [10] "Bos, fruit en vis beschermen kwetsbare kustgebieden Bangladesh."
- [11] "Help, het regenwoud verwelkt."

- [12] “Naar verwachting zal dit jaar één van de tien warmste zijn sinds de metingen in 1850 begonnen.”
 [13] “In plaats van de stijging van de groenestroomproductie toe te juichen, trekt de regering nu aan de noodrem.”
 [14] “De aantasting van het milieu maakt Afrika erg kwetsbaar.”
 [15] “Twee jaar geleden verloor de gletsjer ook al eens een flinke brok ijs.”
 [16] “Klimaatop is alweer klimaatflop.”
 [17] “Herverdeling van arbeid en inkomens moet milieu redden.”
 [18] “De groene economie is een mythe.”
 [19] “Boeren in de Afrikaanse Sahel herontdekken de oude techniek van ‘mestbomen’ (...).”
 [20] “Wetenschappers van Harvard hebben berekend dat in dit tempo in het jaar 2100 alle records zullen sneuvelen.”
 [21] “de alternatieve Britse econoom Andrew Simms”
 [22] “Habib Maalouf, een Libanese schrijver, journalist en professor die twee boeken publiceerde over milieufilosofie”

Appendix E

Example 1 original text: Bekendste Zwitserse berg Matterhorn brokkelt af
 HLN, 07/04/2012, p.12

BEKENDSTE ZWITSERSE BERG MATTERHORN BROKKELT		
Photograph of the Matterhorn, seen from a distance. The sky is blue. The mountain is reflected in a mirror-calm lake in the forefront.	In Zwitserland dreigt de machtige Matterhorn (4.478 meter) uiteen te brokkelen. Dat blijkt uit een studie van Zwitserse geologen. Oorzaak zou de opwarming van de aarde zijn.	(...)
De bijna 4,5 km hoge berg heeft zwaar te lijden onder de opwarming van de		

Example 1 translation: Best known Swiss mountain Matterhorn crumbling away

BEST KNOWN SWISS MOUNTAIN MATTERHORN CRUMBLING AWAY		
Photograph of the Matterhorn, seen from a distance. The sky is blue. The mountain is reflected in a mirror-calm lake in the forefront.	In Switzerland, the mighty Matterhorn (4,478 meters) is in danger of crumbling away. That is shown by a study of Swiss geologists. The cause would be the global warming.	(...)
The almost 4.5 km high mountain is suffering greatly under the global warming.		

Example 2 original text: Habib Maalouf: 'Religie en ontwikkelingsdogma zijn catastrofaal voor milieu'
 MO*, 14/11/2013



MO* sprak met Habib Maalouf, een Libanese schrijver, journalist en professor die twee boeken publiceerde over milieufilosofie. Hij is hoofd van de Libanese Vereniging voor Milieu en Ontwikkeling en mede-oprichter van het Euromed Civil Forum (MEDEA). Hij ziet de klimaatonderhandelingen in Warschau zeer zwartgallig in. De hele menselijke cultuur treft schuld, aldus Maalouf.

Caption: Habib Maalouf (credits: Julie Putseys).

Example 2 translation: Habib Maalouf: 'Religion and development dogma are disastrous for environment'

MO* spoke with Habib Maalouf, a Lebanese writer, journalist and professor who published two books on environmental philosophy. He is president of the Lebanese Organization for Environment and Development and co-founder of Euromed Civil Forum (MEDEA). He has a very pessimistic view on the climate negotiations in Warsaw. The whole human culture is responsible, according to Maalouf.

Example 3 original text: Armsten hardst getroffen door extreem weer
DWM, 28/10/2012

Photograph: A child is shown in the forefront (the left corner), looking the spectator in the eye. A second child and other people can be seen in the background. The child is standing in what appears to be a simple hut, which is presumably situated in the Global South.

Het oude adagium dat de natuur geen onderscheid maakt, lijkt in landen als Sri Lanka niet meer op te gaan. De armen lijden hier het meest onder de extreme weersomstandigheden.

Caption: Volgens de Wereldbank zijn de armen in de stad het meest kwetsbaar voor de klimaatverandering.

Example 3 translation: Poorest hardest hit by extreme weather

The old adage that nature does not discriminate, no longer seems to be valid in countries like Sri Lanka. The poor suffer here most from extreme weather conditions.

Caption: According to the World Bank, the urban poor are most vulnerable to climate change.

Example 4 original text: Er is leven na tyfoon Filipijnen, dankzij lokale sociale bewegingen
DWM, 19/11/2013



Tyfoon Haiyan heeft lelijk huis gehouden in de Filipijnen. Minstens een half miljoen Filipino's is dakloos. Duizenden overleefden de ramp niet. De partners van de Belgische structurele NGO's, zoals 11.11.11. (...), zijn zwaar getroffen. Toch stonden zij ook als eerste klaar om de hulp aan de gemeenschappen te helpen organiseren.

Caption: De verwoestingen door tyfoon Haiyan in de stad Tacloban op het Filipijnse eiland Leyte (foto: 11.11.11).

Example 4: There is life after Philippines Typhoon, thanks to local social movements

Typhoon Haiyan has left a trail of hideous destruction in the Philippines. At least half a million Filipinos are homeless. Thousands did not survive the disaster. The partners of the Belgian structural NGOs, like 11.11.11. (...), were hit severely. Nevertheless, they were also the first who were ready to organize the help to local communities.

Caption: The destructions caused by Typhoon Haiyan in the city of Tacloban on the Philippine island Leyte (credits: 11.11.11).

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